Programme Day 1: Friday 15 May 2015

13.30 Arrival and Registration (Room G02)

14.30 Introduction to the Conference (Room B04)
   Sasha Roseneil, Eleonora Bottini, Luca Lapolla & Ceylan Begüm Yildiz

14.45 Keynote 1: Cristina Flesher Fominaya (University of Aberdeen) (Room B04)
   Unpacking “Common Sense” for Social Transformation

15.45 Coffee Break (Room G02)

16.15 Panels 1 (Three parallel sessions)
   HP = Social Change and Social Movements: Historical Perspectives
   LL = Life and Law: Possibilities of a New Relation
   FOV = Feminism: Oppression, Violence and Transformation

1.1. HP: Resisting Transformation and Transforming the Resistance: A Multidisciplinary Perspective (Room B01)
   - Faith Marchal (Birkbeck, University of London), ‘Reverse-Trafficking’: The Underground Railroad as an Early Example of Anti-Slavery Human Rights Activism
   - Claudia Firth (Birkbeck, University of London), Monuments to Radical Instants: Collectivity and Resistance
   - Diarmuid Kelliher (University of Glasgow), Solidarity as a Transformative Relationship – London and the 1984-5 British Miners' Strike

1.2. LL: Damaged Goods: Democracy and Human Rights (Room B02)
   - Javed Wani (Royal Holloway, University of London), The Untraceable Subject: Bureaucratic Mismanagement and the Making of an Administrative Scandal in United Provinces 1947-48
   - Moniza Rizzini Ansari (Birkbeck, University of London), The Everyday Production of Law by Human Rights Movements: an Analysis on Activism and Processes of Institutionalization
   - Mary Alice Truitt (University of Michigan), Transformative Democratic Leadership

1.3. FOV: Subjects' Resistance: Acknowledging the Specificity of the Contexts (Room B04)
   - Pina Sadar (Durham University), Britain’s Hijab: Resistance, Reformation, Revolution
   - Katie Gaddini (Cambridge University), Practicing Purity: Constructions of Female Sexuality in Evangelicalism
   - Hannah Helseth (University of Oslo), When the Personal Always is Political: Norwegian Muslims in the Public Sphere

18.00 Wine Reception (Room B03)
Programme Day 2: Saturday 16 May 2015

10.00 Panels 2 (Three parallel sessions)

HP = Social Change and Social Movements: Historical Perspectives
LL = Life and Law: Possibilities of a New Relation
FOV = Feminism: Oppression, Violence and Transformation

2.1. **HP: Being the Change: Anarchist and Socialist Principles in Daily Lives and Protests** (Room B04)
- Pushpa Kumbhat (University of Leeds), *Independent Working Class Education (IWCE) – A ‘Sub-Culture’ of the British Labour Movement Building Socialism in Yorkshire 1918-1939*
- Simon Thorpe (independent), *Occupying Power: Strategies for Change in Occupy London*
- Roger Hallam (King’s College, University of London), *New Communication Technologies and the Anarchist Turn in Contemporary Social Movements*

2.2. **LL: Is Social Change Possible within Neoliberal Capitalism?** (Room B02)
- Giulia Loi (Birkbeck, University of London), *Caterpillars Toil, Butterflies Die Fast: Which Way for Life within the Global Neoliberal Death-Drive?*
- Demet Parlak (SOAS, University of London), *The Political Economy of Trade Unions in Neoliberal Period*
- Valentina Luketa (Indiana University), *Exposing Neoliberal Constitutionalism: Towards a New Theory of Gender Based Constitutional Design*

2.3. **FOV: Re-imagining Freedom and Equality in Democracy: What Should Change?** (Room B01)
- Jen Higgins (Birkbeck, University of London), *Victims and Others: Imagining Freedom from Identity Categories in the Context of Hate Speech Legislation*
- Sabiha Allouche (SOAS, University of London), *The Revolution Will Not be Televised: On ‘Sexual’ Dissidence and Social Change in Lebanon*
- Naheed Ghauri (Birkbeck, University of London), *Narratives of Gender Equality, Oppression and Domestic Violence. A Case Study of UK’s Shari’a Councils*

11.30 Coffee Break (Room B13)

12.00 **Keynote 2: Liz Kelly (London Metropolitan University)** (Room B04)
*Violence against Women and Girls: Using Knowledge in the Service of Social Justice*

13.00 Lunch (Room B13)

14.00 Panels 3 (Three parallel sessions)

3.1. **HP: Is There Life after the Squares? The Arab Spring, Podemos and Syriza** (Room B04)
- Nataša Kubíková (SOAS, University of London), *Effects of Salafis’ Public Activism on Polity Formation Processes in Transitions*
- Gonzalo Velasco (Camilo José Cela University, Madrid), *A Second Spanish Transition to Democracy? From Social Movements to Populist Strategy*
- Dionysios Mitropoulos (Birkbeck, University of London), Aikaterini Nikolopoulou (Autonomous University of Barcelona), Elena Psyllakou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), *From the Squares to the Ballot-Box: Exploring the Transformations of Discourse from the Greek “Aganaktismenoi” to SYRIZA, 2011-2012*
3.2. **LL: Beautiful Resistance: Justice and Aesthetics of Social Movements** (Room B02)
- Alexis Alvarez Nakagawa (Birkbeck, University of London), *Nuremberg’s Legacy, Critical Praxis and Social Change: Argentina as a Case of Study*
- Wellington Migliari (University of Barcelona), *Urban Social Movements and a Proto-Metamorphosis in Collective Actions*
- Marcus De Matos (Birkbeck, University of London), *The Biopictures of the Economic Crisis: Towards an Image of Resistance*
- Ozan Kamiloğlu (Birkbeck, University of London), *The Ethical Turn: Loss of the Political and New Aesthetics of Justice*

3.3. **FOV: Art and Philosophy: Tracking the Invisibility of Oppression and the Possibility of Reparation** (Room B01)
- Senjuti Chakraborti (Birkbeck College, University of London), *Seeking Justice—An Ethics of Representation of Intersectional Identities in Law and Literature*
- Rebecca Siefer (City University of New York), *Lauretta Vinciarelli and the Enduring Invisibility of Contemporary Female Architects*
- Lisa Paul Streitfeld (European Graduate School), *Mourning Absence: The Return of the Feminine for Societal Transformation*

15.30 Coffee Break (Room B13)

16.00 **Keynote 3: Illan rua Wall (University of Warwick)** (Room B04)
*On Crowds and Atmosphere*

17:00 End
Reflections on Social Change: Metamorphosis or Transformation?
Birkbeck Institute Graduate Conference 2015

Abstracts

Day 1: Friday 15 May 2015

Keynote 1: Dr Cristina Flesher Fominaya, Senior Lecturer, University of Aberdeen

Unpacking "Common Sense" for Social Transformation

In this talk I explore the relation between dismantling common sense arguments and social transformation, drawing on examples from the 15-M movement and counter examples of arguments put forth to justify Syriza leader Tsipras’ decision to appoint an all male cabinet upon election to Greece’s highest office. My purpose is not simply to highlight the continuing problem of women’s exclusion from the political sphere, especially at the highest levels of representation, but more broadly to show the ways in which “common sense” arguments are used to maintain the status quo around a series of social issues that cannot be effectively addressed within a 99% vs 1% discourse. In so doing, I highlight the need to understand the role of culture in politics, and the need to broaden our understanding of how social movements can change society.

Panels 1 (Three parallel sessions)

HP = Social Change and Social Movements: Historical Perspectives
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1.1. HP: Resisting Transformation and Transforming the Resistance: A Multidisciplinary Perspective

- Faith Marchal (Birkbeck, University of London), ‘Reverse-Trafficking’: The Underground Railroad as an Early Example of Anti-Slavery Human Rights Activism

The Underground Railroad was a clandestine, loosely organised network of men and women, black and white, who in the United States in the 19th century in risked social censure, punitive fines, imprisonment, injury and even death in their efforts to aid and abet thousands of enslaved African Americans in their escape and flight from enforced bondage. Such activities were deemed a form of property theft, rather like smuggling, that flew in the face of the law of the land which from the country’s earliest days had gradually if haphazardly legitimised what was, arguably, the most severe example of racialised chattel slavery in the world.

Acts of re-capture, transportation and re-enslavement of fugitive slaves – akin to what we know as illegal human trafficking today – were perfectly legal then. By contrast, acts of assistance to people escaping their bondage – akin to the work of human rights activists today – were illegal, punishable by harsh fines, imprisonment and worse, in the so-called ‘land of the free’. Participants in the Underground Railroad knowingly broke the rule of law through deliberate acts of civil disobedience, at great risk to themselves. Thus, the Underground Railroad turns our understanding of human trafficking upside down while illustrating what it means to be a human rights activist.

After the eventual abolition of slavery in the United States, the ensuing struggle for racial equality was thwarted not only due to repressive, segregationist Jim Crow laws but to a deliberate programme of recasting national memory. The brutality of slavery and its aftermath were glossed over by a dominant, white, re-imagining of the American Dream that only in the past few decades has been critically interrogated.
Fast forward to the twenty-first century. The progress achieved by the second Civil Rights movement of the 1960s has been thrown into reverse, halted by a programme of erstwhile ‘colour-blind’ economic and social policies. Slavery too has been transformed: now unlawful, it is more prevalent than ever at global level, its sufferers hidden from plain view. The tragic irony is that slavery has gone underground. Now, as then, human rights activism remains a risky business.

- Claudia Firth (Birkbeck, University of London), Monuments to Radical Instants: Collectivity and Resistance

My Ph.D. project revolves around three moments of crisis, the 1930s, 1970s and the present/recent past and how history, aesthetics and resistance have overlapped, intersected and been contested at these moments. To provide a framework, I am using the historical novel, The Aesthetics of Resistance by Peter Weiss, a book which self reflectively attempts to fuse art and radical politics. I am looking at the social/political imaginaries at each moment and how ideas from the text might reflect, contest or contribute to these. This is particularly in light of both ‘the aesthetic turn’ in political theory and contemporary crossovers between art and politics.

The book has been described as ‘a monument to radical instants’, evoking images of both the large and the very small, the durational and the constantly changing. Definitions of transformation also include differences in scale, from complete changes in form or character to tiny alterations of cells by the introduction of DNA from somewhere else. A ‘cell’ refers both to the fundamental unit of life and to small groups of people working within larger organisations of political or revolutionary activity. In this paper I will look at different forms of groups in relation to resistance at these moments, for example within Fascist regimes, ‘terrorist’ groups such as the RAF in the 1970s, and working groups in the contemporary. In addition, Weiss’s book itself demands to be read collectively, in the language and the way it is written and I will also look at the reading group as a social form in relation to resistance, understanding resistance as constitutive of both action and reaction.

For Weiss, history appeared as an un-ending series of defeats for the progressive left. With this in mind I would like to interrogate questions of success and failure. Might examples of failure and defeat offer opportunities for something else?

- Diarmaid Kelliher (University of Glasgow), Solidarity as a Transformative Relationship – London and the 1984-5 British Miners' Strike

In much of the literature on the British miners solidarity is seen as a relationship developed within tight knit communities, often rooted in the common hardships of the underground workplace. Some recent studies of solidarity, however, have emphasised the role of solidarity between different social groups and its potential as a transformative political relationship. This paper will explore this understanding of solidarity through the experience of the 1984-5 British miners' strike. Alongside the ‘old fashioned’ industrial struggle of a workforce often assumed to be socially conservative developed a diverse social movement to sustain the strikers and their families. In London there was support amongst traditional organisations of the labour movement but there was also more novel formations. Lesbian and gay, black and feminist activists all formed specific support groups for the miners. Often these supporters developed direct personal connections with mining areas through the practice of ‘twinning’ – with reciprocal visits between London lesbian and gay activists and mining communities in the Dulais valley in South Wales for instance. Recent journalistic and popular representations of the miners’ strike, such as the film Pride, have tended to emphasise the role of the support groups in developing these solidarity relationships and the transformative impact it had on miners and their families. This paper will emphasise the importance of seeing solidarity as potentially mutually transformative, in this case impacting on the politics and people of London as much as those in the coalfields. To emphasise this mutuality, the paper will discuss the longer histories and cultures of solidarity in which the miners’ support movement was embedded, with the miners as frequently offering support to others as receiving it themselves.
The relationship between the police and the judiciary stands at the very heart of the policies of control that enforced a certain sense of order in late colonial India. While the function of the judicial appears to be clear i.e., conducting trials on the basis of evidence, the purpose of the police remains more difficult to define. Unlike the judge the policeman (or one of his superiors) has a great deal of discretion over whether or not to take action in a particular situation of public disorder. But uncertainty did not wholly lie on only one side of the relationship of the two institutions. Late colonial juridical practice was prone to bureaucratic errors and shared with the police a basic disinterest in the liberty of individual persons. This paper tells the politically marginal but nevertheless highly revealing story of how a chance error during the arrest and subsequent detention of an elderly man called Peter Budge - an innocent bystander in a situation of heightened communal tensions - led to a scandal in the United Provinces administration in the year 1947-48. Budge’s case disappeared between the cracks of bad record keeping and insufficient information sharing and led to his lengthy and unlawful detention at the precise moment of India’s independence. Budge’s ordeal raises important questions about the complimentary relation between law and violence and about the sometimes-fictitious nature of public order laws. This paper will argue – with the help of theoretical interventions from anthropology and critical legal studies – that the everyday reality of public order enforcement is key to understanding the nature and operations of the late colonial state in India more widely.

• Moniza Rizzini Ansari (Birkbeck, University of London), *The Everyday Production of Law by Human Rights Movements: an Analysis on Activism and Processes of Institutionalization*

This paper explores the processes of struggle and political resistance which attend social transformations and develops a critique of the political participation framework within liberal democracies. In particular, it analyses the social dynamics that produce and reproduce the field of human rights from the starting point of social processes and intersubjective mediations which on a daily basis constitute this field, while problematizing the paradoxes of its institutionalisations.

This is the result of a research initiated in Brazil, combining both a theoretical and empirical approach in the interdisciplinary areas of social, political and legal theory. The paper examines central conceptual categories – human rights, social movements and participation – and describes an empirical methodology of observations of the State Council for Human Rights of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). This council is participative body formed both by civil society and public representatives to discuss and implement the local human rights’ agenda, establishing an arena for activism, political demands and participation. Reflecting on the narratives collected in that body and on the actors who sought to make that Council a vehicle for the conduct of their social struggles, the study emphasizes the impact of the Council on these struggles as well as other issues relating, the professionalization of militancy and the expressive and instrumental dimensions of human rights.

Hence, the paper examines the paradoxes of institutionalization which have problematic repercussions for militant action, as bureaucracy attempts to routinize the political engagement. This lead to an analysis in which the development of channels of social participation in a liberal democracy are open to being controlled resulting in the delegitimization of non-institutional forms of struggle. From the base of these analysis it is possible to reflect on the current global events – marked by the eruption of new forms of political resistance – which points to the crisis of representation and institutionalization in the political field, claiming for new arrangements of the political power structures. In this context, the grammar of human rights – one of the few discursive frameworks recognized by institutional world – seem to hold a fading use, although still playing a mediating role.
Democratic Progress is a façade of the anti-democratic practices of governing, sabotaging the ideal of democracy. This socio-structural masquerade further traumatizes the governed with its systemic negation of personhood. The governed experience this psychosocial trauma in everyday experiences of gender inequality and socio-economic stratification. The ideal of democracy is the full exercised capacity of a polity to be continuously adaptive, participatory, and representative of socio-cultural histories. Democratic leaders negotiate their political voices within the limitations of their socio-political communities. The ideal of democracy will emerge when transformative democratic leadership strategically apprehends the masquerade. This paper empirically demonstrates that actualizing the ideal of democracy is a process of cultivating transformative democratic leadership.

Key Words: gender inequality, socio-economic stratification, democratic progress
Key Cited Theorists: Agamben, Giorgio; Foucault, Michel; Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty

1.3. FOV: Subjects' Resistance: Acknowledging the Specificity of the Contexts

- Pina Sadar (Durham University), Britain’s Hijab: Resistance, Reformation, Revolution

With burning debates surrounding the burqa-ban polemics, the Islamic veil has become one of the most controversial sartorial items of contemporary milieu. Based upon clichéd media-generated representations, the public perception of the veil in the UK continues to evoke contradictory images of a veiled woman as being simultaneously a passive victim of male oppressors and an active threat to Western values of modernity, emancipation and secularism. As such, the Islamic veil is often subjected to leftist and (Western) feminist critiques and proclaimed as the ultimate emblem of unwelcome European and British otherness.

This paper rethinks such conceptions of a veiled woman by acknowledging alternative avenues for imagining the Islamic veil in the realm of feminism. Recently – especially following contested niqab interdictions in certain British courts and educational institutions in 2013 – a novel emancipatory rhetoric of the hijab can be identified in nascent Muslim feminist initiatives and movements. These discourses recognise and build upon the semiotic potentials of the veil for channelling counter-hegemonic messages of gender equality, female agency and resistance against the objectification of women’s bodies.

Based on a 12-month ethnographic study among British Muslim women, this paper brings forth female Muslim voices and highlights personal experiences and opinions, thus ensuring emic perspective on feminist subversions of the veil. Along with exploring various artistic texts, mainstream media and social media, these subjective accounts of Muslim women are contextualised into a broader feminist theory.

- Katie Gaddini (Cambridge University), Practicing Purity: Constructions of Female Sexuality in Evangelicalism

Religion and the religious subject have often been marginalised from feminist scholarship. While existing research interrogates how the Muslim female subject has been politically staked, this paper attends to women in Evangelical Christianity. Firstly, I present my findings from a critical discourse analysis of the sexual purity movement, a socio-religious phenomenon that promotes abstinence. Using a feminist theory and epistemology, this paper critically explores how disciplining power operates through purity discourse and norms and the female religious subject produced at this site. Furthermore, drawing on Foucault’s power analytic, and feminists who have appropriated his theory, I consider disciplinary regimes of surveillance, punishment, classification and incitement. In an effort to unsettle a Western, and liberal feminist construction of the religious subject, I introduce Foucault’s care of the self model to explore the limits of identifying sexual purity practices as modalities of agency.

Secondly, I present current qualitative research I am undertaking on the psychic and material consequences of women’s sexual purity norms operating within British Evangelicalism. Whilst the American and British Evangelical movements differ in size and political clout, both have focused their cultural
engagement around regulating female sexuality. My research is based on the understanding that the material consequences of purity norms are far reaching; I hypothesize that such norms restrict the female body by curtailing mobility, and thus impact women on both personal and social levels. Additionally, this work will explore how bodily comportment and sexual purity norms are connected to Evangelical women’s identity formation in a particular social and historical context.

This work contributes to both feminist and religious scholarship, and seeks to bridge the putative divide between the two fields by noting how religion, in this case Evangelicalism, is intricately tied to women’s subjectivity.

- Hannah Helseth (University of Oslo), *When the Personal Always is Political: Norwegian Muslims in the Public Sphere*

The notion of “the Muslim women” has played a significant role in the western public discourse about gender equality, multiculturalism and integration politics. This paper is a part of my ongoing research on the discursive positions of self-declared Muslims, both male and female, in the public debate about women’s rights in the period from 2000 to 2012. As the first part of my research project I have analysed 262 newspaper articles written by Muslims and coded them, inspired by a Grounded Theory methodology. The second part will be to interview the actors on their role, contributions and the emotional investments as well as the costs of participating. In this paper I will present findings from the discourse analysis about the use of personal experiences to describe racial- and patriarchal structures in Norway. “The personal is political” is a well-know feminist slogan from the 1970s that contributed to making women’s personal experiences count as political, especially in questions of domestic and sexual violence. Today the question of violence against women is not a just a women’s movement issue, but is addressed by both the UN and the World Bank. Women’s rights have been used and are used to legitimize the war in Afghanistan and restrictions on immigration legislation in both Norway and in other countries. When Muslims in the Norwegian public sphere give their personal accounts of oppression in the migrant community, their context is quite different from that of a white women telling her story in the 1970s. Today they risk that their story and arguments will be reframed as part of an anti-Muslim or anti-immigration agenda. This paper scrutinizes the continuum from the radical feminist movements’ use of the personal as political to how it is used and misused in a political landscape where multiculturalism and feminism are perceived as contradictions. In the final part, I will discuss the underlying assumptions of the relationship between structures, agency and subjectivity in arguments of Norwegian Muslims arguing for women’s rights.
2.1. **HP: Being the Change: Anarchist and Socialist Principles in Daily Lives and Protests**

- Pushpa Kumbhat (University of Leeds), *Independent Working Class Education (IWCE) – A ‘Sub-Culture’ of the British Labour Movement Building Socialism in Yorkshire 1918-1939*

The British IWCE phenomenon was an integral part of the labour movement during the inter-war period, led and organised by working class people. Primary providers of IWCE were the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA) and the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC). Each organisation founded itself on the principle that the working class had a fundamental right to access adult education. However, they differed in their ideological outlook. The WEA supported the classical liberal education of Oxbridge believing that it would enable working class people to participate as well informed citizens in public life. In contrast, the NCLC rejected Oxbridge education and all State assistance believing that the only way to raise class consciousness was to disseminate Marxist ideology through adult education. Despite their differences the WEA and NCLC co-existed promoting socialist principles albeit contrarily through education to working class students and, were supported by institutions such as the Trade Union Congress (TUC), the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) and the Independent Labour Party (ILP).

I hypothesise that the inter-war IWCE network formed a ‘sub-culture’ of British life offering working class adults an alternative social, economic and political outlook that was not based in traditional conservatism. It exposed students, directly or indirectly, to a different way of living based on socialist ideology and, transformed a small but important minority of working class people enabling them to participate in public life at a municipal as well as national level. In this respect IWCE could be perceived as a catalyst stimulating social change. My paper will present evidence of how IWCE in Yorkshire between the Wars achieved this.

- Simon Thorpe (independent), *Occupy Power: Strategies for Change in Occupy London*

Occupy London came to life on October 15th, 2011, part of a global day of occupations, and represents one of the longest standing protest camps from the influential Occupy movement. Many have commented on the autonomist and anarchist practices that underlie Occupy (such as consensus decision-making), suggesting that the movement rejects strategies of taking power through the state and is instead focused on building autonomy and alternative forms of power. This paper explores in more detail the different ways in which the movement sought to ‘Occupy’ power, by focusing on three sets of practices within the case study in London. Firstly, following John Holloway, Occupy London is explored as a movement of anti-power, a movement that can only exist in constant negation of power-over and institutionalisation. I will examine the general assembly as an example of such institutionalisation, and point towards both critiques of this form and attempts to find less-institutionalised spaces of encounter. Secondly, building on Hardt and Negri’s take on the movements of 2011, I explore Occupy London as a constituent power and a positive ‘institutionality of the common’. In particular I focus on the ‘Safer Spaces Policy’, which demonstrates an active desire to institutionalise certain principles within the movement. Finally, I approach Occupy London as a reformist movement seeking to contest and influence those institutions perceived to be ‘in power’. Exploring these strategies for change brings together debates from within the Occupy movement with more longstanding theoretical debates about the nature of power and radical social change. I will conclude that the rich diversity of strategies in Occupy reveals either the ongoing need for a pluralistic understanding of strategic social change, or that Occupy was not constituted with sufficient clarity to give it (arguably) necessary strategic direction.
This paper explores how new communication technologies (NCTs) are creating the political space and tools for a profound anarchistic transformation of radical political protest. Using a broad definition of anarchism as organisational forms with high levels of participatory and direct democracy, I argue that NCTs are enabling new and viable forms of horizontal activism.

The fundamental affordance of NCTs is “mass self communication” (Castells 2009): citizens being able to engage cheaply and easily in many to many communication. I draw on recent empirical studies (Earl and Kimport 2011, Bennett and Segerberg 2013) to show how this capacity is enabling a new fluid and decentralised activism, no longer dependent upon traditional top down, bricks and mortar, social movement organisations. New flexible political forms are arising which enable real time direct voting and feedback, and mass low risk political protest. Such high participation models of activism provide the best change of bringing about radical transformations. (Chenoweth and Stephan 2013)

These new structures are less than ten years old and the digital transformation of radical political protest is still in an experimental phase. However I argue, in this more fertile structural environment, there is the prospect of overcoming the old debates between anarchists and Marxists, between action aimed at capturing the state versus action aimed at destroying the state. From my own research I will cover a number of emerging mechanisms which are likely to have a significant effect upon the maturation of these new political forms in the coming years. The “anarchist turn” in social movements then is not just a reactive social phenomenon but a reflection of a deep change in the structure of political communication.

2.2. HP: Is Social Change Possible within Neoliberal Capitalism?

What is Social Change, what is metamorphosis and what is transformation? Whether we read these terms historically, biologically, culturally or cognitively; the differences and meanings are many and fascinating to take apart. This taking apart however, can also make or break a revolutionary movement, or at the very least, a movement of change.

The recent years of anti-austerity struggle have met a wall of miscomprehension and refusal to acknowledge mass discontent in countries supposedly organised as democracies. In a deeply different reality from the baby boomers generation, the vast majority of my own generation has been living as exploited precariat for nearly fifteen years. What does this mean for social movements? Have we been failing in all our struggles? What have we been demanding?

Concentrating on anti-psychiatry led by Laing in the UK and Basaglia in Italy, and schizoanalysis invented by the French post-structuralists Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, both a movement and philosophical concept which still inspire much Western post-industrial Marxian thinking today; I want to reframe historically what it meant culturally and the immense impact they had on care, mental health provision and the way we think left-wing politics of mass, for better or worse.

Taking the striking example of the impact of anti-psychiatry in Brazil and the clear split it has created between academic thinking of the multitude (Suely Rolnik & Guattari), and research in psychology and psychiatry (da Silveira, Maturana, Pordeus), I want to ask why that split occurred and what are the consequences for it. Drawing on recent analysis of affect and affective labour in a feminist materialist key by Federici, and Lazarato, I want to argue that the focus with Guattari’s thoughts on the construction of subjectivities is not enough anymore, and has not been enough for a long time, to deconstruct our daily exploitation. Refusing the hijack of pain and trauma whether for aesthetic revolutionary purposes or for lucrative means, and learning to listen to mental distress and its socio-political roots can help us rigorously re-examine contemporary alienation in labour and life, and ask ourselves what change, metamorphosis and transformation we are ready to take on.
Demet Parlak (SOAS, University of London), *The Political Economy of Trade Unions in Neoliberal Period*

My proposed paper is a Marxist critical examination of the relationship between capitalism, class struggle and trade unionism. My central aim is to analyse the evolution process and the specifications of the mode of capitalist production and its effects over the trade union movement. I want to examine underlying historical, economic, social and political dynamics of the trade union movement in the age of neoliberalism. My research is embedded a history of trade unionism since 1980 in a history of neoliberalism.

My hypothesis is that the establishment and development process of the trade unions are the institutional expression of class struggle and so, analysis of the trade union movement is revealed the improvement and tendencies of the class struggle in modern capitalist society. This hypothesis is rejected that the trade unions are lobby or pressure group in modern capitalist society, although it is based on class and class struggle approach. Having elaborated this hypothesis I then intend to express the trade unions, which are a significant stage of the formation of the working class, their place and role in the modern capitalist society.

Understanding and elucidating the connection between class struggle and trade unionism in particular, I refer Marxist literature of trade unionism. In Marxist literature there are many major aspects of trade unionism and many controversies concerning it, including strikes. However, my paper would be illuminate these debates in the Marxist analysis of trade unions in capitalist society. In general, apart from Gramsci -he was suspicious of trade unions- their analysis is contained an optimistic appraisal of potential of trade union to generate heightened levels of class consciousness. It does not mean that they were unaware of the weaknesses and limitations of trade unions. In point of the concept of economic and political struggle they were discussed the trade unionism is "historical necessity".

In the light of the above arguments, my paper proceeds to examine changes in the membership, organization, strategy and politics of trade unionism under neoliberalism.

Valentina Luketa (Indiana University), *Exposing Neoliberal Constitutionalism: Towards a New Theory of Gender Based Constitutional Design*

The constitutionalism’s renaissance in the 20th century largely was informed by neoliberal ideology, which continues to capture the imagination of many constitutional design scholars and practitioners. Constitutions have been utilized as technologies of neoliberalism in the creation of nation-states, whereby the promises of democracy are packaged in the language of the rule of law and free-market economy. Indeed, neoliberal constitutions have been presented as the only viable way to bring about progress, particularly in the Global South.

This approach has significant negative effects, including: perceiving constitutions as a technical manual authored by “experts,” rather than founding documents stemming from the constituent power of the people; and, preventing the development of constitutional theory based on non-hierarchical organization and direct democracy. This trend is particularly visible in the mainstreaming of feminist liberal theory in gender-based constitutional design. Imported by professional constitutional designers and gender consultants who parachute into post-conflict settings, neoliberalism has effectively co-opted gender equality in theory and practice. Consequently, feminist efforts are used as vehicles for educating capitalist consumers rather than liberating societies from the grip of patriarchal hegemony.

Through a survey of what is considered mainstream gender based constitutional design literature published by leading international development organizations in the format of policy papers and manuals, the paper will demonstrate how neoliberal ideology co-opts the call for gender equality in process of designing a new constitution. Such literature is disseminated to civil society representatives in effort instruct them on how to advocate for gender equality in constitutional framework. It is precisely here that the neoliberal ideology informs the gender based constitutional design imagination, claiming that gender equal constitution can only be realized within the neoliberal framework.

The paper will conclude by emphasizing the need to develop an alternative gender based constitutional design theory that questions neoliberal underpinnings of such mainstream literature.
Debates about hate speech laws have predominantly been concerned with the tensions between such laws and freedom of speech. Curiously, and perhaps consequently, hate speech legislation does not yet seem to have faced the same deconstructionist challenges that have been levelled at hate crime legislation for its reliance on identity categories. Such challenges include questions as to how laws based on identity categories can account for: victims and victim experiences that do not fit into narrow, static and essentialised categories; the plural, complex and dynamic nature of identities (Davina Cooper, 2009); and “the subjectivising conditions of identity production” (Wendy Brown, 1993).

In this paper, I argue that it is impossible to extricate hate crime legislation from the problematic nature of identity categories. This is because such legislation merely enhances existing laws, making the differentiation and revalorisation of certain identities their sole activity (Nancy Fraser, 1995). However, the same is not true for hate speech legislation, where a new offence is created. I therefore question whether it might be possible to disentangle the offence of hate speech from identity categories.

I am developing two approaches for imagining hate speech legislation that does not rely on identity categories. The first of these is the concept of an ‘arbitrary characteristic’, which may be used to avoid the restrictive delineation of specific identity categories. The second idea is that the normative orientation of hate speech legislation around security issues drives a preoccupation with certain identity categories, such as race, nationality and religion. In particular, I explore whether this may be a factor in the consistent exclusion of gender and sexism in such legislation. Therefore, I suggest that disentangling hate speech legislation from security objectives may be essential to the project of imagining inclusive, category-free legislation.

The ‘alternative’ is becoming increasingly visible. We see it in the growing number of non-nuclear households, non-conventional accommodation, and in a new on-offline service economy. It is in the local, the regional, the global, and the glocal. When thousands of men and women took to the street in Tahrir Square, they danced, sang, and shared meals together. During the Gezi Park protests, rainbow flags were carried along P.K.K and Turkish ones.

The ‘everyday’ nature of both events made them effortlessly accessible for viewers. This is in contrast to the static identities, rehearsed speeches, and pre-arranged posters that usually accompany mobilisations. Moreover, these spontaneous alliances are not the product of an extraordinary moment in time. If anything, the heavy media coverage that accompanied them gave them visibility and asserted their presence.

I base my argument on findings collected during recent fieldwork in Lebanon. The fieldwork sought to test the limits of Lebanon’s myth of sexual tolerance; itself a by-product of ‘modernity’ often co-opted and reproduced at the most official level. What I found is a quiet, unobtrusive revolution currently taking hold of Lebanon. Its knowledge is the recognition of the sexual component of democracy, and the un-civility of the ‘civil’ without gender equality.

A new generation of men and women is severing all ties with Lebanon’s conventional or ‘vulgar’ politics. Rather than ascribing to inherited ideologies, they aspire towards a social justice that replicates feminist ideals in many ways. At the same time, very few of them identified as a feminist.

For those ‘dissident bodies’, democracy is inherent to ‘being in sync in one’s body’, and using the body to liberate one’s self from Lebanon’s sectarian system of governance and political representation. In this sense, their mode of acting is a-political but not depoliticized. Leisure, art, friendship, and intimacy are the spaces where they craft new affectivities and transmit their informed critique. Far from occupying streets and squares, dissident bodies operate in ‘bubbles’ that slowly and progressively expand as they diffuse their gender-aware knowledge.
This paper adopts an interdisciplinary approach and a hermeneutical study of the gender equality and domestic violence within the religious-secular context. This paper treats the Qur’an and the Sunna as complementary sources to each other, because most scholarly research undertaken to date has treated them individually. This neglects some important implications, in particular, the references to ‘wife beating’ in a verse in the Qur’an (Q.4:34). Feminist theory of interpretation maintains that they need to address the psychology of revelation relating to the question of the relationship between pragmatism and ideals. In addition some feminist studies adopt intersectional approaches (Crenshaw 1989) when examining gender equality and cultural identity. Research by Muslim feminists address misogynistic interpretations but these have not made it into the mainstream. However, in order to mainstream such issues of misogyny, egalitarianism should be retrieved as it resonates with the Qur’anic principles. In this paper, ‘wife beating’ (Q.4:34) verse is explored as its interpretation surrounds a lot of controversy in terms of Islam condoning domestic violence against women and secondly, it conflicts with UK and European Convention on Human Rights 1950 (ECHR). On 22 April 2013, the BBC Panorama programme made a covert documentary on Muslim Shari’a Councils operating in the UK; this attracted controversy about the inequality and oppression issues against Muslim women resorting to these Councils to seek advice on religious divorce, mediation and violence. This also attracted political scrutiny by Baroness Cox, MP who introduced the Arbitration and Mediation (Equality) Services Bill [HL] 2014-15. This Bill addresses gender discrimination and parallel legal systems in the UK. However, Muslims derive justification to discipline wives from Q.4:34. The use of physical discipline clashes with the Qur’anic model and more importantly, it is a criminal offence in the UK and in most countries to resort to marital violence. Gender inequalities or oppression exists in the culture and this is often conflated with religion. There are different interpretations of the shari’a sources but the actual sources, Qur’an and Sunna do not promote discrimination or violence.

**Keynote 2:**

**Prof Liz Kelly, Roddick Chair on Violence Against Women, London Metropolitan University**

*Violence against Women and Girls: Using Knowledge in the Service of Social Justice*

The Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit has undertaken pure and policy relevant research for over 25 years, been innovative methodologically and engaged in policy advocacy. This presentation will be a reflection on how we have positioned ourselves – working ‘in between’ academia, policy and practice to take feminist perspectives into the main stream. The paper will reflect on the connections between research and practice based knowledge in transforming how we understand what violence against women and girls is and the complexities involved in ‘dancing with the state’. The final section explores the epistemological community CWASU has been part of creating through the End Violence Against Women coalition which seeks to transform responses to and perspectives on violence.
Panels 3 (Three parallel sessions)
HP = Social Change and Social Movements: Historical Perspectives
LL = Life and Law: Possibilities of a New Relation
FOV = Feminism: Oppression, Violence and Transformation

3.1. HP: Is There Life after the Squares? The Arab Spring, Podemos and Syriza

- Nataša Kubíková (SOAS, University of London), Effects of Salafis' Public Activism on Polity Formation Processes in Transitions

Following the Arab Spring revolts, Salafi movements in Egypt and in Tunisia have become prominent actors in the public sphere and contributed to the polity formation processes through both formal and informal channels.

The paper will analyse Salafis' distinct forms of 'public activism' within the framework of the new social movement (NSM) theory and study effects of their involvement in the political transitions. According to the NSM theorists, the movements represent the vanguard of social transformation, however, their agency to deliver changes on the political level remains limited vis-à-vis the power of the state. I will try to show that this theorizing is problematic in itself as it relies on an embedded dichotomy between power of the state and resistance of social movements. This thus predefines mutual positioning of the state and society in fixed and indefeasible frames, where social movements cannot fulfil a positive constructive role in political processes directly, but instead are restrained in their oppositionality to the state. This dichotomy seems to be left unchallenged by the current scholarship or rather, and even more problematically, to be perceived as an end in itself, not as a means to deliver a change. It thus results in reproducing and reinforcing omnipresent domination/subordination structures instead of targeting them along the proclaimed lines of insurgent struggle of social movements.

I argue that this theorizing is rather counterproductive in its effect, in particular when we attempt to account for contemporary political developments in the two countries, where politics of the public sphere led to unprecedented political processes in one form or another. I will critically examine validity of the NSM framework of analysis of Salafi movements with respect to how and to what extent their participation impacted on the transitional processes. I will argue that conceptualization of power and resistance as simple binary oppositions complicates theorizing of the empirical data we have about political changes in Egypt and in Tunisia.

- Gonzalo Velasco (Camilo José Cela University, Madrid), A Second Spanish Transition to Democracy? From Social Movements to Populist Strategy

Spanish political context is currently an ideal scenario to test the role of social movements as a force of democratic change. Never before May 11 of 2011 the Social Movements had had such a visibility and success in order to transform social indignation into a political mobilization. Nevertheless, the real novelty arose when a group of academics, experts in social theory, achieved to transform this dynamic into a structured political organization inspired in the gramscian model of political party (Podemos). As a consequence, an ontology of Spanish political present is not today a mere analysis of the conditions that would make possible a political change, but a descriptive representation of a real transition between two understandings of democracy and political activism.

Our goal in this contribution will be to evaluate the transition between a model of social militancy inspired by deleuzian and foucauldian frameworks, which roots refer to May of 1968, and a the current fight for political and cultural hegemony. The first thought political agency as micropolitics, resistance and constituent power of multitude. Instead, the second one defends the occupation of institutions by an agonistic dichotomization of political landscape. Inspired by Laclau and Mouffe's theory, its Spanish supporters use media and popular culture to build a new popular agency. These statements are not an
interpretation of recent events: Podemos leaders as Pablo Iglesias and Iñigo Errejon are explaining the theoretical framework of their strategy in books, TV and interviews.

We will seek to study the recent history of social movements in Spain and the testimonies of Podemos leaders (both in academic, journalistic or political sources) in order to answers questions such as: is Populism the only way by which multitude can be empowered?, are social movements a defeated model of political agency or does it still have a role to play nowadays.

- Dionysios Mitropoulos (Birkbeck, University of London), Aikaterini Nikolopoulos ( Autonomous University of Barcelona), Elena Psyllakou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), From the Squares to the Ballot-Box: Exploring the Transformations of Discourse from the Greek “Aganaktismenoi” to SYRIZA, 2011-2012

In the context of the ongoing financial crisis, which in the case of Greece has coincided with the consolidation of neoliberal (bio) politics, the Greek Indignants (“Aganaktismenoi”), alternatively the Syntagma Square Movement, came to the forefront of worldwide publicity in 2011 as a result of its articulation of pluralistic political and social demands oriented to social change. As a result of the recent snap-elections of January 2015 in which the leftist political party SYRIZA managed to form a coalition government, certain aspects and effects of this movement are back in the limelight and are once again the focus of attention. SYRIZA is widely recognized as being associated with popular struggles and was in fact active as an agent of government opposition during the emergence of the Syntagma Square Movement.

The proposed paper attempts to undertake a comparison between the discourse of the Greek “Aganaktismenoi” of Syntagma Square and that of SYRIZA in order to explore a possible transformative impact between the demands of the Greek “Aganaktismenoi” and SYRIZA’s political discourse and the policies outlined in its pre-electoral campaign. In particular, the paper consists of a discourse analysis (mostly based on the approaches of Michel Foucault and Ernesto Laclau-Chantal Mouffe) which examines three distinct sets of empirical subject-matters:

1. The manifestos of Syntagma Square’s general assemblies held between which cover several days from May and July 2011;
2. SYRIZA’s press releases in the days following each assembly and how they positioned themselves with regard to the assembly’s manifestos, decisions and declarations, and;
3. SYRIZA’s pre-electoral press releases during the build up to the May 2012 elections.

We thus first of all propose to isolate key themes in the Greek “Aganaktismenoi” discourse, and then in the latter two sections turn our attention to exploring possible statements suggesting strategies for the integration of themes outlined in these manifestos. The final part of the suggested paper provides wider sociological conclusions concerning the transformations in the relation between collective action and party politics in the Greek case, as suggested by the discursive articulations examined, and raises questions pertaining to the successive steps of these relations and their present prospects.

3.2. **LL: Beautiful Resistance: Justice and Aesthetics of Social Movements**

- Alexis Alvarez Nakagawa (Birkbeck, University of London), Nuremberg’s Legacy, Critical Praxis and Social Change: Argentina as a Case of Study

The legacy of Nuremberg has been re-signified today in such a way that its original radical meaning is no longer present in the institutional and academic fields. The emergence of the so-called transitional justice in the years 1980-90 represents the most successful attempt to discipline the legacy of Nuremberg. Arguably, on the one hand, the transitional discourse makes that human rights trials be a discretionary option –thus undermining the possibility of doing justice—, and on the other hand, drew a distinction between perpetrators and beneficiaries, subtracting these latter of any responsibility by depicting them as bystanders or even as victims. My intention in this paper is to show, with an exploratory aim, what the original legacy of Nuremberg was, and how it was re-signified by the transitional justice paradigm. My argument here is that Nuremberg, and its affirmation of the possibility of doing justice in the present time, could be seen, at least partially, as the product of the praxis of some critical scholars that belonged to the Frankfurt School; a legacy
that was kept alive later on during the Cold War period by many leftist political activists first in the Russell
Tribunals and then by the anti-colonial struggle movement. Thus, Nuremberg was for many years the legacy
of those who politically tried to associate an unjust past with a present time that could be changed. After that
historical recount, I will argue that the process of memory in Argentina could be an interesting case of study
in which we can see the tension between the transitional model and the original model of Nuremberg.
Moreover, I will also point out that the most radical legacy of Nuremberg seems to be gaining momentum in
the recent years of the Argentinean experience. In this regard, I will show that many of the political social
changes implemented in Argentina in the last decade were fuelled by social movements that sustained a
politics based on the idea of remedying a past of injustice, in a clear constellation with the original legacy of
Nuremberg.

- Wellington Niglieri (University of Barcelona), Urban Social Movements and a Proto-Metamorphosis in
  Collective Actions

The discredit to political mainstreams has been one of the cornerstones for the latest urban events in many
places. In São Paulo, Brazil, the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto (MTST)¹ have shown its commitment
to social legal claim, however, communicating categorically no-alliance to any political organisation since the
2013 demonstrations. In Terrassa, Spain, the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH)² have defended
the access to a dignified life after the housing crisis in 2008, though it is completely against any political label.
Both collective actions disparage the institutional establishment or the discretionary power as a legitimate
behaviour. It is undeniable they have demanded incisive interference from the public administrations through
lawful and legislative measures.

Not only have they succeeded in reducing inequality for the access to dignified houses, but also
hampered the distortion of legal channels used to criminalise their movements. The Urban Planning Act
16.050, article 5, intent VII, Municipality of São Paulo; and the Housing Act 18/2007, article 9, intent IV,
Region of Catalonia, defend legislative reforms as an adequate response to more efficiency in housing
questions. The juridical empowerment of the members in these two urban social movements has involved
non-institutional practices that demobilized dogmatic interpretations of juridical norms. The MTST and PAH
converse in their assemblies with high-level of information about housing matter to tackle governors, judges
and State officials respecting a due process.

The urban social movements in question act under public international, civil and constitutional law as
well, yet as alternative and independent actors. The present article aims to debate the MTST and PAH as
actors of transformation in housing issues without necessarily playing the institutional role of third sector in
society. Their collective actions corroborate a proto-metamorphosis in the urban demands affiliated with an
objective desire either for national innovative norms or international law application with social equilibrium.
Class alliances, corruption and parties are concepts dying for these nuclei. Transparency, popular
commissions and low-cost participation in decision-making process are the pre-stage of metamorphic
societies.

- Marcus De Matos (Birkbeck, University of London), The Biopictures of the Economic Crisis: Towards an
  Image of Resistance

The connections between Law and Images have recently become a very intriguing and even dangerous field
in Legal Theory. As the use of images and pictures change from religious production of sovereignty and
idolatry ancient prohibitions; to an apparatus capable of not only revealing truth - as evidence - but also to
deliver messages of power, we want to look at one specific image that aroused from the Occupy movement,
and digitally multiplied itself at a global virus rate. Drawing from theoretical experiments on the work of W.J.T
Mitchell, Costas Douzinas and Giorgio Agamben, we want to propose that this image, the mask of a fictional
hero/terrorist character, might be a key point of understanding to the global protests that took place in 2011,
and the ones that challenge the actual economic crisis that we face.

¹ Roofless Workers Movement
² Platform for People Affected by the Mortgages
This paper examines cases from Italy and Spain in order to discuss the aesthetic dimension of justice after the fall of Soviets. The paper focuses on Jacques Ranciere's term ethical turn, which is the loss of the distinction between what is and what ought to be, in other words, it signifies the constitution of an indistinct sphere between law and fact. The ethical turn becomes cosmopolitanism in the works of Costas Douzinas, and the human rights discourse for Robert Meister. In this new era after the ethical turn, a new dramaturgy of evils and victims becomes the dominant way of searching for justice. The rise of a certain kind of human rights discourse after the fall of Soviets is one of the dimensions of the ethical turn; it makes the perpetrator a certain enemy of humanity, and the victim becomes the human. Under this new ethics the condition of humanity is to be accepted as victim. The second dimension of the ethical turn is; since law judges evil, it becomes the Law of God, whose way of salvation passes from ceremonies of redemption. Therefore this domination of a certain mode of ethics is also the aesthetization of law.

This paper will consider cases from Italy (Red Brigades) and Spain (ETA) in which the judges have asked for a "pardon" (written or verbal) from the convict as a condition of release. These are cases that have occurred after the 9/11 attacks which also marks the period of the rise of victims’ associations in these countries. Therefore this paper claims that after the ethical turn, in the age of human rights, justice is an ethical and aesthetic issue more than ever; if the ethical condition of justice is the consensus between victims, perpetrators and beneficiaries, its aesthetic dimension is these kinds of new ceremonies of redemption that give the evil perpetrator a chance to be human or subject of divine law.

3.3. FOV: Art and Philosophy: Tracking the Invisibility of Oppression and the Possibility of Reparation

In my research I am broadly interested in the intersections between law and literature. My impelling concern is with ‘justice’, its relation to both law and literature, and to what extent and under what conditions can or cannot law and literature become justice delivering mediums. Justice has always been a much theorized, yet under theorized term in legal philosophical discussions precisely because of the inability to definitively articulate what justice really is. For various factors interact and intersect to from the context of justice. The Borders of Justice (2012), edited by Etienne Balibar, Sandro Meddabra, and Ranabir Samaddar, lists some of them- geography and empirical diversity, people and their ideas about their rights and entitlements, changing nature of claims, pattern of justice-seeking politics, delivery mechanisms of justice and countless other conditions form the social context of justice. The requirements for justice thus are numerous and none of them are more privileged than the rest. Therefore, what justice can possibly mean cannot be understood by removing its context through some abstract definitions. It has to be repeated that its ‘social embeddedness’ will make its exact nature and implications always nebulous.

Still, as a violent, working definition, by way of defining it negatively, let’s say that justice is a response or a reaction to injustice. That is to say, whom justice has been addressed to and who has been left out; more exactly, who are the subjects of justice. I argue that justice can be considered to have meted only if it had anticipated its other and addressed its borders. I further argue that justice is reparative.

In accepting justice as a reaction to injustice, whether colonial or national injustice, I work with two texts here- Ranajit Guha’s Chandra’s Death which appeared in Subalternt Studies V (1987), and Toni Morrison’s Beloved (1987) both of which install their own sense of justice arising from specific social and historical situations. ‘Intersectionality’, introduced within the legal academy by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 as an attempt to broaden the representational scope of identities within law, can be a good conceptual tool for me to understand these two texts. Working at the intersections between gender and caste in postcolonial India (Guha) and gender and race in postcolonial African-America (Morrison) both the texts call for a repairing of the representational habits of intersectional identities in legal documents or in fiction in order to produce a viable justice-seeking subject who has been written out of both colonial and nationalist histories. A critical
study of these texts reveals the constant need of changing the co-ordinates of representation for the nature of the justice-seeking subject will constantly evolve. Finally, the question endures and must do- who can be subjects of justice?

- Rebecca Siefert (City University of New York), *Lauretta Vinciarelli and the Enduring Invisibility of Contemporary Female Architects*

I have recently unearthed the virtually unknown collaborative work between artist Donald Judd, icon of 1960s minimalist art, and architect and artist Lauretta Vinciarelli (1943-2011), Judd’s romantic and professional partner from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. Judd has been hailed as a visionary architect for his interventions in Marfa, Texas, on the abandoned army base purchased by the Dia Art Foundation to house long-term installations of art. When his newly renovated loft at 101 Spring Street in New York reopened in 2013 there was a renewed interest in Judd’s architectural output. Vinciarelli worked on several of Judd’s most well known architectural projects, including those in Marfa, Providence, RI, and Cleveland, OH. In Marfa, Vinciarelli’s influence is found throughout, from the incorporation of courtyards and pergolas to furniture design, yet her name remains absent from the Judd literature.

The discovery of this collaborative work calls into question the influences on, and the authorship of, “Judd’s” architecture, even if the question of attribution is an especially problematic one considering Judd’s characteristic use of delegated fabrication. Vinciarelli’s erasure highlights the gender divisions and sexism that have plagued the minimalist movement as well as the architectural profession. Although art historians like Anna Chave (“Minimalism and the Rhetoric of Power,” 1990) have convincingly revealed such entrenched gender biases in the Minimalist movement, and architectural historians like Mary McLeod (“Charlotte Perriand: an Art of Living,” 2003) have brought our attention to the contribution of women architects to Modernism, the time is ripe for a reevaluation of contemporary architectural collaborations from the 1970s and ‘80s. With the recent popularity of teams like Diller + Scofidio, how do we reassess overlooked female partners (like Vinciarelli) who remain invisible? How do we address the enduring problems identified in Denise Scott Brown’s 1989 “Sexism and the Star System in Architecture” and yet shift the discourse for 2015? This paper will attempt to unpack such questions facing the evolving scholarship on architectural collaborations.

- Lisa Paul Streitfeld (European Graduate School), *Mourning Absence: The Return of the Feminine for Societal Transformation*

The key to the transformation of society is the transformation of women. Violence against women is the chief indicator of the fear surrounding the primordial power of the feminine that has been repressed for millennia and is newly arising with a force accompanying a new holistic perspective of gender balance as an inner/outer marriage symbolized by the Mobius strip. My research area has been to uncover the repression of the feminine energy in continental philosophy and to bring it into the dialectic of the 21st century through the Badiouian ontology of number. This evolves the work of Melanie Klein on mourning through the Frankfurt School scholar Laurence Rickels, whose endopsychic analysis at last addresses the unmourned internal feminine within academia. The feminist movement in America never addressed the repression of the organic face of the feminine, and in fact, continued the repression in the struggle for legal and financial equality with men. The society has suffered greatly in the 21st century from this state of unmourning. It is time to equate violence towards women with the planetary destruction from an outdated deterministic scientific model. The new science of entanglement is a holistic understanding of global interconnectedness that has been proven in the laboratory, yet it is repressed because such a new world view jeopardizes the late capitalism of the military industrial complex that linear view of time via unlimited growth. This paper brings the multi-disciplinary (science, arts, religion and archeological) approach of a holistic perspective into the discussion of the oppression of women through envisioning an inner balance of masculine and feminine via the Badiouian ontology of number. Only through the act of mourning what has been lost can the current state of imbalance, with its systematic effect of a worsening violence towards women, be healed.
Keynote 3: Dr IlIan rua Wall, Associate Professor, University of Warwick

On Crowds and Atmosphere

The paper will think about two different crowds that have become very important to radical politics over the last five years: the occupation and kettled crowd. The occupation crowd covers crowds as diverse as Occupy Wall Street, the Indignados in Spain and Greece, the Tahrir crowds in Egypt and the recent Occupy Central crowds of Hong Kong. In contrast, the kettled crowd is an object of the police. Kettling is a strategy of containment aimed at holding and dispersing a mobile and dynamic crowd situation. However, rather than simply understanding the various different dynamics of each of these crowds, the paper will undertake an atmospheric analysis. The crowd is an atmosphere machine. But there is not one single and simple crowd atmosphere. Rather, atmosphere is a way of thinking about the dynamism of crowds themselves.